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lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki:*

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The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan 1802
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moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village." [26] It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

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No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.[27] The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.[28]

A F *698 702 *195

Ōhara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806–1807 [29] and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.[30] When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

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## 5. EDUCATION

A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

[26] See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*

[27] In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

[28] In *Ezo Sōshi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furyuento and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura Shikyō* . . . a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

[29] Hotta Settsu no Kami . . . , *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

[30] *Hokui Dan*.

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